

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00

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EB-07 TRSE-00 COME-00 FRB-03 CIEP-01 SAM-01 IO-10

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O R 201845Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0598

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMCONSUL NICE

AMCONSUL LYON

AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

AMCONSUL MARTINIQUE

AMCONSUL BORDEAUX

AMCONSUL MARSEILLE

AMEMBASSY MADRID

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT FR

SUBJECT: UNION OF THE LEFT SUMMIT MEETING

SUMMARY: ON JUNE 29, FRANCOIS MITTERRAND, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (PS), GEORGES MARCHAIS, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (PCF) AND ROBERT FABRE, CHAIRMAN OF THE LEFT RADICALS (MRG) HELD THEIR FIRST SUMMIT MEETING IN SLIGHTLY OVER A YEAR. A TERSE COMMUNIQUE SUGGESTED THAT ONLY THEIR ANTI-GISCARDIAN AND VERBAL ATTACHMENT TO THE ELECTORAL GOALS

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OF THE COMMON PROGRAM GIVES THE THREE PARTIES A COMMON

GROUND ON WHICH TO TALK. ON EVERY OTHER ISSUE--PORTUGAL, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE COMMON MARKET, STRATEGY FOR THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS OF 1977 THE EXTENT OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS--THE PS AND MRG FOUND THEMSELVES LOCKED INTO OPPOSITION AGAINST THE PCF. THE UNION OF THE LEFT IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE SINCE FOR THE MOMENT THERE ARE NO SPECIFIC ISSUES IMPORTANT ENOUGH NOR ARE THERE ELECTIONS PROXIMATE ENOUGH TO SPLIT IT. SHOULD THE REPUBLICA AFFAIR END WITH THE PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP) LEAVING THE GOVERNMENT, THE PS MIGHT, FOR ELECTORAL REASONS, FIND ITSELF FORCED TO RECONSIDER ITS ADHERENCE TO THE UNION. END SUMMARY

1. WHAT THEY AGREED ON: THE THREE PARTIES GAVE RITUAL AFFIRMATIONS OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE COMMON PROGRAM AND CREATED A JOINT COMMISSION (PRESIDED OVER BY EDMONDE CHARLES-ROUX, WIFE OF MARSEILLE DEPUTY/MAYOR AND CHAIRMAN OF THE PS NATIONAL ASSEMBLY GROUP GASTON DEFFERRE) TO FOLLOW FRENCH RADIO AND TV AND VERIFY ITS OBJECTIVITY. THEY ALSO EXPANDED THE WORK OF THE LIAISON COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED LEFT, WHICH HAS BEEN MANDATED TO CREATE A WORKING GROUP TO STUDY

-- THE EFFECTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL "CRISIS OF CAPITALISM" AND THE CURRENT FRENCH ECONOMIC CRISIS ON THE SEVERAL LAYERS OF FRENCH SOCIETY;

-- THE PROBLEM OF EUROPE, ITS COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND VARIOUS MOVES TOWARDS A MORE LASTING DETENTE;

-- "THE DEFENSE AND EXTENSION OF LIBERTIES."

2. WHAT WAS HIDDEN IN THE AGREEMENT--THE PROBLEM OF CIVIL LIBERTIES: THE ISSUE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IS ONE OF THE AGREED POINTS OF STUDY BECAUSE OF THE REPUBLICA AFFAIR. HAVING CALLED THE PCF HYPOCRITICAL FOR ITS SIMULTANEOUS SUPPORT OF LIBERTIES IN FRANCE AND DEFENSE OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY (PCP) AS HAVING HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THE REPUBLICA AFFAIR, MITTERRAND EXPECTED--AND RECEIVED--A BLISTERING SUMMIT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ATTACK FROM MARCHAIS, WHO CRITICIZED THE PS'S "AGGRESSIVE DEMARCHE" AND WHO REITERATED WHAT HAS BECOME THE STANDARD PCF WHITEWASH OF THE PCP. MARCHAIS WENT FURTHER THAN HE HAS GONE BEFORE IN EXPRESSING HIS PARTY'S FEARS THAT PS ATTACKS ON THE PCF ARE A WAY OF SEEKING SUPPORT IN THE ANTI-COMMUNIST MAJORITY. MITTERRAND REFUSED TO BE DRAWN INTO A DEBATE ON THE FACTS, CONTENTED HIMSELF WITH NOTING THAT THE REPUBLICA HAS NOT APPEARED

IN THE PAST THIRTY DAYS AND SAID THAT THE TRUE PROBLEM WAS THE SILENCING--FOR WHATEVER REASON--OF A NEWSPAPER WHOSE EDITORS HELD VIEWS UNPOPULAR WITH THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT.

3. THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL DEFENSE: BY AGREEING TO DEAL WITH THE QUESTIONS OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE, UNITY AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY, THE PS GAVE IN TO A PCF DEMAND WHICH SOME JOURNALISTS AND MANY PS DEPUTIES VIEW AS A TRAP. THE PS IS BADLY DIVIDED ON DEFENSE MATTERS, WITH ALMOST NO ONE WILLING TO GO THROUGH THE TORTUOUS AND NECESSARILY PUBLIC DEBATE REQUIRED TO GET A NEW PARTY-WIDE CONSENSUS. THE PS IS EQUALLY DIVIDED ON EC QUES-

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TIONS. THE PCF, HOWEVER, SPEAKS WITH A SINGLE VOICE ON THESE QUESTIONS, PURSUES A COMMON LINE AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO POSE POTENTIALLY DIVISIVE QUESTIONS TO ITS PS AND MRG PARTNERS. THE PS PRESUMABLY AGREED TO WORK ON THIS QUESTION IN ORDER TO GET PCF AGREEMENT ON THE CIVIL LIBERTIES TOPIC WHICH IT EXPECTS TO BE EMBARRASSING TO ITS PCF ALLIES.

4. WHAT COULD NOT BE AGREED - ELECTORAL STRATEGY: THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PCF, CONSIDERABLY AIDED BY THE FAR LEFT OF THE PS (CERES - ABOUT 25 PERCENT OF THE PARTY'S STRENGTH), HAS BEEN CALLING FOR SINGLE LISTS OF UNION OF THE LEFT CANDIDATES ON THE FIRST ROUND OF THE 1977 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. THE PS, WHICH IS OFTEN CALLED A PARTY OF SMALL-TOWN ELECTED OFFICIALS, BELIEVES SUCH A STRATEGY IS AIMED DIRECTLY AT ITS POWER BASE; THE PCF FEARS THAT WITHOUT SINGLE UNION OF THE LEFT CANDIDACIES, THE PS WILL ENTER INTO ELECTORAL AGREEMENTS WITH VARIOUS PARTIES IN THE GOVERNMENT MAJORITY'S CENTER. WHILE MITTERRAND GUARANTEED HIS PARTY'S FIDELITY TO THE COMMON PROGRAM, HE REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE PCF DEMANDS AND, SIGNIFICANTLY, DID NOT PUBLICLY PUT THEM ON THE WORK SCHEDULE FOR THE LIAISON COMMITTEE OF THE LEFT. COMMENT: AT LEAST TWO SOURCES CONNECTED WITH THE LIAISON COMMITTEE OF THE LEFT HAVE TOLD EMBOFFS THAT MUNICIPAL ELECTION STRATEGY HAS BEEN A TOPIC OF CONVERSATION IN COMMITTEE MEETINGS SINCE EARLY FEBRUARY. END COMMENT.

6. CONCLUSIONS: THIS MORNING'S PARIS PRESS IS UNANIMOUS IN COMMENTING THAT THE FACT OF THE SUMMIT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN ITS SUBSTANCE. WE CONCUR IN THAT ANALYSIS, FOR THE FRENCH LEFT IS A POLITICAL STATE OF MIND IN WHICH THE APPEARANCE OF UNITY AND THE AGREEMENT TO REAFFIRM UNITY IS SOMETIMES AS IMPORTANT AS THE DEEP CLEAVAGES WHICH EXIST BETWEEN THE THREE MAJOR LEFT PARTIES. THE UNION OF THE LEFT HAS BEEN MADE A TOUCH STRONGER BY THE SUMMIT AND BOTH PCF AND PS LEADERS WILL BE ABLE TO CLAIM A SMALL VICTORY IN AGENDA ITEMS TO BE PUT TO THE WORKING GROUP. AT A TIME WHEN THE REPUBLICA AFFAIR DOMINATES POLITICAL DISCUSSION ON THE LEFT, SUCH SMALL VICTORIES ARE THE STUFF OF WHICH STRONGER UNION IS MADE. UNION FOR WHAT AND TOWARDS WHAT GOAL WILL BE

WORKED OUT IN DAILY POLITICAL DEBATE, BUT BOTH PS AND  
PCF SEEM TO HAVE LEARNED AND DEMONSTRATED THAT THEY  
CANNOT ALONE DETERMINE WHERE THE UNION WILL GO. IF THE  
REPUBLICA AFFAIR ENDS WITH THE PSP LEAVING THE GOVERN-  
MENT, THE UNION OF THE LEFT COULD BREAK; BARRING SUCH A  
DEVELOPMENT THE UNION WILL CONTINUE ITS DISCUSSIONS.  
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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PINT, FR  
**To:** STATE  
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